

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2931

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y(PARA 5 LINE 12 INTERNAL VICE INTERNATIONAL)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UK, US, SF, RH
SUBJECT: SOUTHERN AFRICA -- DISCUSSION WITH MP MARGARET THATCHER

SUMMARY: BRITISH CONSERVATION LEADER MARGARET THATCHER CALLED ON AMBASSADOR YOUNG SEPTEMBER 8. DISCUSSION PRINCIPALLY CENTERED ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES. MRS. THATCHER PROBED EXTENSIVELY AROUND POSSIBILITY OF AN INTERNAL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA, EXPRESSED STRONG OPPOSITION TO THOUGHT OF SANCTIONS, AND EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL GRADUALLY REFORM ITS INTERNAL SYSTEM. END SUMMARY.

1. MRS THATCHER DISCUSSED SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS FOR ABOUT AN HOUR WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG ON SEPTEMBER 8. IN QUESTIONS DESIGNED TO UPDATE HER ON STATE OF RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS, SHE FOCUSSED FIRST ON QUESTION OF LAW AND ORDER. SHE SAID THAT ON BASIS OF HER READING OF WHITE PAPER AND FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN'S SEPARATE STATEMENT, SHE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND HOW FORMATION OF AN ARMY BASED ESSENTIALLY ON "TERRORISTS" MADE SENSE. AMBASSADOR YOUNG DESCRIBED PLAN WE HAVE PUT FORWARD IN SOME DETAIL, STRESSING THAT THERE WOULD BE A MIX OF FORCES, SUBJECT TO MANAGEMENT OF NEWLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, AND THAT ONE ULTIMATE PURPOSE OF A STATEMENT WAS TO GAIN
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SUPPORT OF AFRICANS, PARTICULARLY FRONTLINE STATES AND RHODESIAN BLACK FACTIONS.

2. AMBASSADOR YOUNG WENT ON TO TALK OF NEXT STAGE OF PROBLEM, COMMENTING THAT THE SITUATION IN SECURITY COUNCIL IS NOT GOOD. AFRICANS ARE REPRESENTED BY MAURITIUS, LIBYA AND BENIN, THE LATTER TWO OF WHICH FUNCTION MUCH OF TIME ALMOST

AS SOVIET PUPPETS. BECAUSE OF SOVIET CAPACITY AND INTEREST IN DISRUPTING PROGRESS ON RHODESIA AND OTHER AFRICAN PROBLEMS, IT IS VITAL TO SUCCESS OF ANY PLAN THAT WE OBTAIN WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT OF AFRICANS LIKE FRONTLINE LEADERS AND NIGERIA. THE NEXT STAGE OF OUR SCENARIO WILL BE EFFORT TO GAIN A UN MANDATE FOR SECRETARY GENERAL TO NAME A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO MEET WITH LORD CARVER, WHOSE TASK WOULD BE NEGOTIATION OF A CEASE-FIRE. IF A CEASEFIRE CAN BE NEGOTIATED BY CARVER, IT WOULD INVOLVE DETAILED CONSIDERATIONS, LIKE LOCATION OF TROOPS, ETC.

3. AMBASSADOR YOUNG EXPLAINED THAT THE UK AND US FINALLY ACCEPTED PHRASEOLOGY SUCH AS "BASED ON LIBERATION FORCES" BECAUSE IT WAS OUR CALCULATION THAT MAIN EFFECTIVE FORCE REQUIRED IN INTERIM PERIOD IN RHODESIA WOULD BE PROVIDED BY CIVIL POLICE. PRESIDENT NYERERE ALSO AGREED WITH THIS ASSESSMENT, ASSUMING THAT THERE WOULD BE A REAL CEASEFIRE AND CONDITIONS OF LAW AND ORDER IN WHICH POLICE FORCE WOULD PROVIDE SUFFICIENT SECURITY. IN RESPONSE TO MRS. THATCHER'S QUESTION, YOUNG CONFIRMED THAT THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS HAVE GIVEN THEIR ASSURANCES THAT THEY CAN AND WILL CONTROL LIBERATION FORCES WITHIN THEIR BORDERS. WE ALSO HAVE HAD INDICATIONS THAT LEADERS SUCH AS PRESIDENT MACHEL OF MOZAMBIQUE AND NKOMO HAVE APPROACHED CUBA AND THE PRC FOR ARMS ON BASIS OF REQUEST ON BEHALF OF AN ARMY OF ZIMBABWE AND NOT THEIR INDIVIDUAL FACTIONS.

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4. IN RESPONSE TO MRS. THATCHER'S QUESTIONS ABOUT GENERAL ATMOSPHERE WITHIN RHODESIA, AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID SALISBURG APPEARED PEACEFUL WITH NO VISIBLE TENSION. HE CALLED IT A SLEEPY AFRICAN TOWN, SOMEWHAT LIKE A TOWN IN GEORGIA IN THE 1950'S. HE SAID OUR INFORMATION INDICATES THAT THE LIBERATION FORCES ARE ABLE TO MOVE FAIRLY FREELY THROUGH MUCH OF TERRITORY OF RHODESIA AND IN FACT ARE PRESENTLY HOLDING EVENING POLITICAL MEETINGS IN ABOUT HALF OF TRIBAL TERRITORIES. AS SECURITY SITUATION WITHIN RHODESIA HAS DETERIORATED GRADUALLY, THE RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES HAVE APPEARED TO BECOME MORE AND MORE REPRESSIVE, A TACTIC WHICH, BASED UPON OUR EXPERIENCE, IS NOT LIKELY TO BE EFFECTIVE. HE CONCLUDED, HOWEVER, BY SAYING THAT OUT INTELLIGENCE ON DETAILED INTERNAL SITUATION IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO JUDGE ACTUAL TRENDS IN RHODESIA AT PRESENT TIME.

5. MRS. THACHER ASKED WHAT WILL TRIGGER THE COMMENCEMENT OF CARVER'S NEGOTIATIONS? SHE ASKED WHETHER SMITH COULD BE EXPECTED TO AGREE TO SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID THAT AT AN EARLIER POINT SMITH HAD APPEARED TO MAKE A GENERAL COMMITMENT THAT HE WOULD NAME A REPRESENTATIVE TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. THE LIBERATION FORCES

OF COURSE HAVE COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO PARTICPATE. YOUNG COMMENTED THAT HE INTERPRETED RECENT VOTE FOR SMITH NOT AS AN INDICATION OF A BROAD HARDLINE REJECTION OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, BUT AS AN INDICATION OF MANY RHODESIAN' WILL TO MOVE TOWARD A RESONABLE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. HE SAID AN INTERNAL SOLUTION IS NO LONGER A CREDIBLE OPTION AMONG MOST RHODESIANS. A MILITARY SOLUTION ALSO OBVIOUSLY IS NOT AVIL-ABLE TO SMITH. HE SAID PRESIDENT CARTER HAS BECOME CONVINCED THAT NONE OF THE RHODESIAN PARTIES WANT A CIVIL WAR. IT IS ON THIS BASIS THAT WE HOPE THAT ALL REASONABLE RHODESIANS WILL ACCEPT THAT BASIC ASSURANCES CONTAINED IN OUR PLAN AND WILL SUPPORT EFFORTS TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. HE ADDED THAT ECONOMIC PRESSURES ON THE FRONTLINE STATES, AS WELL AS RHODESIA, TEND TO SUPPORT EFFORTS FOR A NEGOTIATION.

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6. MRS. THACHER RETURNED TO QUESTION OF AN INTERNAL SOLUTION, ASKING HOW SOLUTION COULD BE BLOCKED BY A MINORITY OF MILITANT LIBERATION FORCES, ASSUMING THAT SUCH A SOLUTION WERE "PROPERLY DONE" WITH INTERNATIONALLY MONITORED FREE ELECTIONS OPEN TO PARTICIPATION OF ALL. AMBASSADOR YOUNG EXPRESSED VIEW THAT ONLY IF NKOMO COULD BE INDUCED TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN PROCESS MIGHT POLITICAL PROCESS BE CREDIBLE TO SUPPORTERS OF LIBERATION FORCES. WHILE THERE ARE UNQUESTIONABLE DIVISIONS BETWEEN NKOMO AND MUGABE

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THAT MAY PITCH THEM AGAINST EACH OTHER IN A SUBSEQUENT STAGE, THEY HAVE AGREED TO REMAIN UNIFIED FOR THE COMMON STRUGGLE. IF AN INTERNAL SOLUTION WERE ATTEMPTED AND IT WERE REJECTED BY MAJORITY ELEMENTS OF LIBERATION FORCES, RESULT WOULD BE A CHAOTIC SITUATION IN WHICH BLACK LIBERATION FIGHTERS WOULD BE OPPOSING A BLACK GOVERNMENT IN RHODESIA. THIS WOULD CREATE A SITUATION THAT ONLY SOVIETS, WITH THEIR LONGER TERM OBJECTIVE OF CONTINUING TO STIR TROUBLE UNTIL FRIENDLY ELEMENTS HOPEFULLY EMERGE, COULD LIVE WITH. HE COMMENTED FURTHER THAT EVEN VORSTER HAS AGREED THAT AN INTERNAL SOLUTION OF THIS KIND WOULD NOT BE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S BEST INTEREST, ALTHOUGH HE OBVIOUSLY IS NOT PREPARED TO FORCE SMITH TO A SOLUTION. THE SOUTH AFRICANS ACTUALLY KNOW NKOMO AND THE OTHER BLACK LEADERS VERY WELL. REGARDLESS OF HOW "PROPERLY" AN INTERNAL SOLUTION WERE CARRIED OUT, IT IS NKOMO, MUGBE AND OTHER BLACK LEADERS WITH WHOM THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD HAVE TO DEAL IN THE INDEPENDENCE PERIOD.

7. YOUNG SAID NIGERIANS, VORSTER, AND EVEN RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES SEEM TO KNOW LORD CARVER WELL AND TO THINK HIGHLY OF HIM. WE HOPE THAT HE WILL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE PLAN INCLUDING A DATE. THEN WE WOULD GO TO SECURITY COUNCIL TO SEEK A MANDATE FOR A SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND FOR A PEACEKEEPING FORCE. THE MISSING LINK IN THIS CHAIN OF EVENTS REMAINS QUESTION OF SMITH'S WILLINGNESS TO AGREE ON PLAN
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AND TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ON CEASEFIRE.

8. MRS. THATCHER COMMENTED THAT SHE HAD BEEN VERY PLEASED WITH FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PACKAGE PROPOSAL ON RHODESIA AND WAS DISTRESSED WHEN US APPEARED TO BACK AWAY FROM INTEGRAL PACKAGE CHARACTER OF PROPOSAL, SAYING THAT SOME PARTS OF IT MIGHT BE NEGOTIABLE. SHE OBSERVED THAT EXPERIENCE DURING THAT PERIOD HAS MADE VORSTER AND OTHERS SHY OF MOVING AHEAD FOR FEAR OF FURTHER CHANGES AND FAILURE. SHE DESCRIBED HER VIEW OF VITAL IMPORTANCE OF SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA IN INTEREST OF THE NEW WORLD.

9. MRS THATCHER TURNED TO THE RECENT LAGOS ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE. SHE OUTLINED HER VIEW THAT, BECAUSE WE MUST DEPEND UPON SOUTH AFRICA FOR ASSISTANCE IN ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO "BRING THEM ALONG" THAN TO "HIT OUT AT THEM." SHE SPOKE OF HER CONVICTION THAT OVER TIME ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FORCES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ARE CERTAIN TO COMPEL CHANGES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM. YOUNG OBSERVED THAT THE AFRICANS FLATLY DO NOT AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO "BRING SOUTH AFRICA ALONG." MRS. THATCHER REFERRED TO MACHEL'S DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA, EVEN HIS FAIRLY GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. AMBASSADOR

YOUNG TALKED ABOUT THE ECONOMIC PRESSURES AT WORK ON SOUTH AFRICAN, INCLUDING "VOLUNTARY" SANCTIONS WHICH ARE DEVELOPING SOME MOMENTUM AMONG US AND OTHER WESTERN BANKS AND BUSINESSES. MRS. THATCHER SPOKE STRONGLY AGAINST THOUGHT OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS IN UN -- "WE COULD NEVER AGREE TO THAT". IN ADDITION TO SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE UK, SHE ESTIMATED THAT IT WOULD PRODUCE CHAOS WITH RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AND DO HARM TO OUR SUPPORT AMONG LIBERAL ELEMENTS IN WESTERN WORLD. SHE BELIEVES THAT A MOVE TO SANCTIONS IN UN WOULD WITHOUT QUESTION MAKE THE SOVIETS VERY HAPPY. MRS. CONFIDENTIAL

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THATCHER TALKED AT SOME LENGTH OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO WESTERN WORLD OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN ADDITION TO INVOLVEMENT OF "OUR" PEOPLE, SHE REFERRED TO RAW MATERIAL AND SECURITY INTERESTS IN BASES AREAS AND LINES OF COMMUNICATION. BOTH MRS. THATCHER AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING SOLUTIONS TO THESE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG UNDERSCORED THE COMMITMENT OF PRESIDENT CARTER TO THESE GOALS.

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Message Attributes

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